MOKO

A Serious Review

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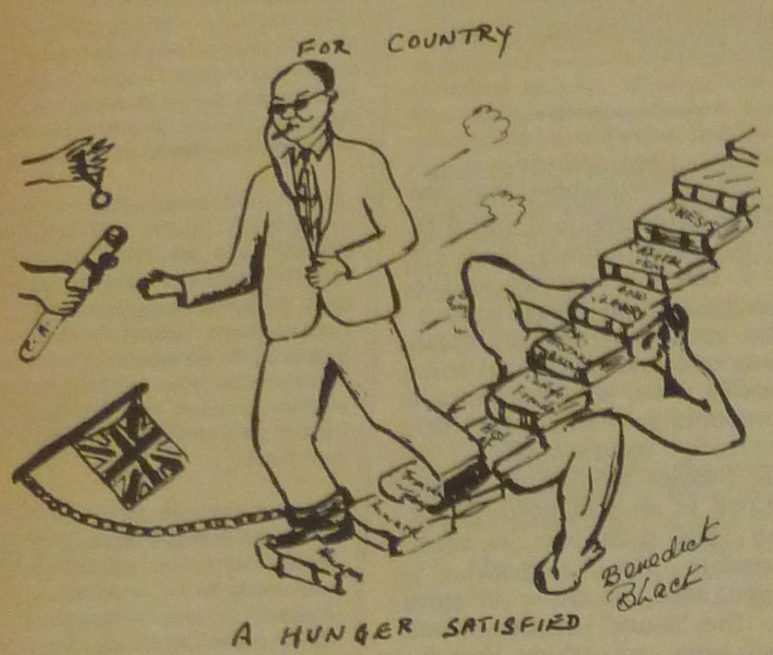

LAW AND JUSTICE

Considering the phenomenon of obedience to law in his own day, Necker wrote "This obedience on the part of a very large number to a very small one is a thing singular to observe and mysterious to think on." It would seem to be the case that in all human societies we find the bulk of the people obeying rules, which have normally been imposed by a relatively small number. This fact leads us to ask two sets of questions; first "Why do men obey laws?" (a sociological enquiry), and secondly "Ought men to obey laws?" or rather "Which law ought men to obey?", and "Why ought they to obey them?" (moral questions).

By David Nicholls Part 1

We may suggest a number of causes why men do obey laws. Perhaps the most important is habit. Men are very much creatures of habit, and tend to go on doing what they are used to do, unless there is any good reason for changing. Most men are conservative, they act according to established patterns. This is surely the basic cause of political obedience.

Fear is also important as a cause for men obeying laws- fear of punishment, or fear of disapproval from their fellows. But fear, as can generally be effected only if each man believes that his own disobedience is a fairly isolated case - that is it deviant behaviou . Punishments cannot normally be enforced against very large numbers of people. To take a current example; the provisions of the ISA can be enforced only if they remain unchallenged by the great majority of workers and employers. The courts would never be able to cope with massive disobedience to this law, or indeed to any law. Some governments, of course, are more ruthless in their determination to secure obedience than are others. Vigorqus and draconic punishment meted out to the very first offenders might serve the purpose of deterring others. But not all governments feel able to behave in this manner especially when they have to face re-election. If, however, the offenders and potential offenders against a particular law are part of a permanent minority in the community, or if the government is dealing with colonial or occupied territories, such vigorous action can be taken. The French in Algeria, or the German occupation of Eastern Europe provide examples of governments which are prepared to use such methods. Treitschke, with characteristic bluntness wrote; "The historian who judged European policy in Africa or the East by European standards would be a fool. There, coercion by terror is necessary for self-preservation. We must not blame the English who in the imminent peril of the Indian Mutiny bound Hindus to the cannon's mouth, and blew their bodies to the winds. It is evident that the situation demanded such measures, and we cannot condemn them if we accept the English contention that England's rule in India is beneficial and necessary." Nevertheless, this kind of violence was a constant feature of the British administration of India, and the bulk of the population did not obey the laws from fear of such punishments, but rather from habit. We may say then that fear is one of the factors which bolsters up habitual conduct.

Another important factor which influences men in obeying the law, is a general belief that laws ought to be obeyed. In many primitive communities the laws are thought to come directly from God, and disobedience is regarded as blasphemy. In other cases the ruler who makes the laws is said to derive his authority from God; the theory of the divine right of kings, popular in the 15th and 16th centuries, or the democratic dogma that vox populi is vox dei are examples, Thus, one of the causes for obedience is that people believe that the laws or the lawmakers have some kind of "legitimacy".

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A NEW START

Trevor Oliver,
Chairman, N.Y.A.M.

From time to time the Woodbrook/Newtown area has been thought of – by those who do not know the facts – as a prosperous, peaceful and happy area. For those of us who have taken the pain to thoroughly examine the society, that community seems a very sick one – peaceful, perhaps, but certainly not prosperious, happy and united. A big division exists between the privileged and the underprivileged. The underprivileged are themselves subdivided into other disunited groups. There are those who, having gone to secondary school, believe themselves superior to the less fortunate ones. On the other hand, there are those who smoke marijuana regularly and are always on "trips": These believe that their world is "something else".

OUTCASTS.

The privileged class always tries to assert its superiority over the less privileged, not realising the sickness in the community which drives young men to stand around the street corners, or lime on nearby doorsteps. To them these are "outcasts" who must be dealt with by the police. The rejected youth becomes bitter and angry, and so the social sickness worsens instead of getting better. Economic pressure has sent scores and scores of youths to the gambling dens. Quite often, anything gained from playing Wappie and Romey is spent buying marijuana, to get a "head". Life has been so much boredom for these youths that they seek an escape route via Marijuana, M.X., LSD, etc., and the sickness worsens.

THE N.Y.A.M.

Sensing the gravity of the problem, myself and a few other youths in the area, realized that something must be done to help uplift the standard of the society. So the National Youth Advancement Movement was born. The N.Y.A.M. aims to educate the youths by lectures on subjects of importance to youth advancement. It aims to make Unity, Love and Progress, three important words in its

Continued on Page 3

PENSIONS

by James Millette.

It is good to recall at the start that the first public announcement of the Government's intention to introduce a Bill into the House to secure pensions for parliamentarians was made during the opening stages of the bus strike. What struck most of us then was that that announcement was merely further evidence of the Government's insensitivity and of the callous disregard for ordinary folk which marks so much of its legislation . Apparently, however, the awkwardness of the announcement struck the Government nearly at the same time. The Bill was not introduced for second reading as was said to be the intention, and it was only recently that it was passed into law.

On this second try everything was played softly-softly. Nothing much happened in the House and very little comment favourable or unfavourable was offered in the local Press. Pensions for politicians have been treated as very much a routine matter. The question is: is it?

Let us begin by looking at pages 390 to 397 of the Draft Third Five-Year Plan, 1969-73. Pages 390 to 395 provide an account of the existing state provision for social security for the people of this country. This is what it says

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

An individual in need of public assistance can get a maximum grant of $10.00 public assistance on presentation of a medical certificate given by the District Medical Officer. A dependant wife married and unemployed and children where the breadwinner is ill at home can get public assistance on presentation of a medical certificate, but the maximum assistance is limited to $45.00 per family. Orphans in need can get at the most a grant of $5.00; and where no other assistance is available a maximum grant of $30.00 will be given for burial assistance.

In addition there is an Emergency Cases Fund through which persons in several categories can be assisted. These include a pregnant mother deserted by her husband; a young mother deserted by her child's father and unable to work because of recent confinement, and other cases determined in the discretion of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare. In 1967, $13,003 were paid out of the Emergency Cases Fund, and 18.977 persons received $1,722,222 in public assistance payments.

OLD AGE PENSIONS

In addition there are the old age pensions. Award of a pension is subject to a means test and the recipient must be over 65 years of age and must not be in receipt of an income of more than $19.00 per month. So that a sugar worker for example retiring on a pension of about $20.00 per month paid by the sugar estate as only the lucky among them might do, cannot receive a state pension; if they want the pension they have to give up the pension paid by the estate. In some cases pensions can be as low as $5.00 per month. In 1967, 37,683 persons received $4,051,130 in pension payments; or just over $100 per person.

What stands out about all these payments is that they are pitifully small and even so they are not automatic. Even the Government recognizes their inadequacy and the Draft Five Year Plan proposes a National Insurance Scheme as a more satisfactory form of provision, as the plan puts it, "for old age and the proverbial "rainy day."

Yet even these proposals have very severe limitations. In the first place the scheme is to cover only persons in paid employment in the first instance. Later it will be extended to self-employed and own account workers and voluntary contributors who fulfil the prescribed conditions of entry. Secondly, in order to qualify for benefits under the scheme the worker must be 65 or over. Thirdly, he must have paid 750 contributions to the scheme before he can be allowed to draw a pension. This means that he must have participated in the scheme for about fifteen years.

WIDOWS

For the widow and children of a deceased contributor to receive benefits under the plan the husband and father should have qualified for an invalidity pension immediately before his death. In addition his widow must have been married for not less than three years at the time of his death and must have reached the age of 55 or be an invalid to qualify for a life pension. If she remarries she loses the pension. In all other cases, widows qualify for a pension for one year only provided the widow does not remarry during that time. A funeral grant of $100.00 is payable on the death of an insured person provided that, prior to death, 25 contributions had been paid.

The point is that even the proposals of the new National Insurance Scheme are very modest. Compare this however with what the politicians have done for themselves. The Prime Minister's pension is non-contributory, and there is no qualification other than that of having been Prime Minister for no matter how short a time. Pension is at the rate of $12,000 per year.

Continued on Page 2

MOKO FETE

This Week-End

SAT JULY 5

45 Grant Ave.

Mt Lambert

$5.00 PER COUPLE

Chits will be issued.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir.

What I think is absolutely necessary at this time, is to invite comments on every aspect of the Government and the Opposition, with the view to finding out whether there is need for a new political party. In the process we will discover the views of quite a lot of our people, and the answer to some of our problems.

My view is that there is dire need for a new Party, but this Party must not come into being only to take over the Government, but also to exterminate the many ills that exist to the detriment of our nation. The major of these is Racialism which exists in the nature and structure of both our major political parties. This leads to a failure of the different races and organizations to combine, and bring restraint to bear on all our people. There is also the desire for underserved power, position and money, which leads to failure to put the right people in the right positions.

Any new party, therefore, must take care to represent all races and be truly national in outlook. The more people represented, the greater will be the voice in the administration of the nation.

A new party must be prepared to go into opposition, while at the same time organising itself to take over the government if the people so desire. There are hundreds of thousands of our people who carefully criticise the Government as well as the Opposition, while there are as many others who sit on the fence and say nothing. These people must be organised so that helpful criticisms are listened to, and destructive criticism discouraged.

A definite change is necessary in our society. We need to be disciplined in the way we conduct public affairs. We need to see and feel production; and we want to be able to tolerate each other, so that we can develop the trust necessary in a people of one nation. We have the resources, the brains and the people. Why can't we start now?

Mc Donald Clarke.

FILM PREVIEW

Some weeks ago a MOKO team attended a preview of the Beatles' film YELLOW SUBMARINE, which is a cartoon with allegorical implications. The Blue Meanies have overtaken Pepperland. They attack colour, largeness of life, the spirit of enquiry, replacing them with concrete-grey apathy and nihilism, the European death. Know becomes No. The submarine is a vehicle of escape from this grey world to a sky of blue and sea of green.

But beneath the sea the refugees discover in distorted form many of the terrors they have left behind - - several images of the void . . . metalic landscape just like their rigid industrial Europe, animals with iron claws and beaks, the appalling emptiness of a landscape of holes stretching away to infinity. There is also the world of academic abstraction where Nowhere Man whose motto is "so little time, so much to know" preoccupies himself with learning irrelevant things, but cuts himself off from knowledge of the self. Freud Marx and Einstein are all casually mentioned, and implicity rejected.

Thus the tired world of grey people is rejected, and a simpler life suggested. But how genuine is it all? Harsh criticisms can be made of the film. Firstly there is a kind of easy slickness, a failure on the Beatles' part to take anything seriously, and a too easy dependence on the vision of some of the songs, which were not written with the film in mind. The cartoon form, which one feels derives heavily from Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear, becomes tedious, partly because much of the submarine journey lacks humour, horror or point. There is very little attempt at verbal wit, though this might have helped in a film purporting to examine contemporary disillusion in a semi-ironic fashion.

Indeed, the general assumption that intellect doesn't matter often reduced the film to pointless fantasy, and led to a careless anarchy in the presentation of visual images. The retreat from political, economic and emotional complexity, too, or from human confrontation of any sort, made the solution offered by the Beatles seem quite naive. "Love is all you need", they say, but such love as seems possible in a world so devitalised, is closer in spirit to the "Lurv" of the normal pop-song; something that has nothing to do with real people. Music, love and rythm, they imply, redeem us. But for what? For a psychedelic nirvana, a new bright out-of-focus marijuana dawn. The remedy closely resembles the disease. Our generation may well require a rediscovery of innocence and simplicity, but this will hardly come about if we concentrate on escape rather than on enquiry, and genuine exploration.

Gordon Rohlehr.

CHESS No 10

BY "OTTO"

The printer's devil continues to defy us. Our last column overcame the problem of numbering only to be defeated by omissions in the game itself. Omitted was:
4. b 4. B-K2 BxN
and Black's seventh move should have read N-KB3 not N-B3 which is confusing.

We have so far seen a game that perished in its opening stages and one that ended with the middle game barely underway. In this column we offer one that stayed the course. The players are two of our best exponents of the game, past national champions both. The game was played in the National Chess Championship, 1967, on March 28 to be exact. Frank Brassington has the white pieces, Carl Brown the black. The notes are supplied by the winner.

Opening: Queen's Pawn, Slav Defence.

1. P-Q4 P-Q4
2. N-KB3 P-B3
3. B-N5 N-B3
4. P-K3 P-K3
5. N-Q2 N-Q2
6. B-Q3 B-K2
7. O-O O-O
8. P-QB4 P-QB4
9. BPxP NxP
10. BxB QxB
11. R-B1 P-N3

(So far a fairly tense struggle has been taking place for control of the objects of the opening game. The middle game is about to begin and Black begins to solve the problem of finding a place for his QB by playing P-N3. He intends to place the bishop on N2)

12. PxP NxP
13. B-K2 R-Q1
14. Q-B2 N-N5

(The last two moves by Black have chased the White queen from the centre. A gradual advantage is being built up.)

15. Q-N1 B-N2

(At last! Black is ready.)

16. KR-Q1 QR-B1
17. P-QR3 N-Q4
18. P-QN4 N-R5
19. N-K4 N(Q) - B6

White's position is obviously critical. Queen and rook are both threatened.)

20. NxN NxN
21. RxRch QxR

(Still maintaining the pressure. RxR would be a relief for White; Black would then lose his knight and probably the game.)

22. RxN

(There is not much else really. Black also threatened NXB ch. For example, 22. Q-N2 NxBch. 23.QxN?? RxR. mate)

22. . . . . RxR

(Black now has a material and a positional superiority.)

23. N-Q4 Q-B2!!

(Threatening R-B8 ch)

24. N-N3 B-Q4

(To eliminate the defender of the vital B8 square.)

25. B-Q1 BxN
26. Resigns

(If 26. BxB R-B8ch wins.)

PENSIONS

Continued from Page 1

$1,000 per month. His widow's pension is 2/3rds the Prime Minister's pension, that is $8,000 per year. The qualifying period for elected members of the House, the Speaker, Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and the President of the Senate is eight years service in all. Strictly speaking this is after 96 contributions since these are to be made monthly, but counted by week this is after 416 contributions; the contributor to the National Insurance Scheme as we have already seen will be required to make 750 contributions before qualifying.

PARLIAMENTARIANS

Pensions for the parliamentarians will amount to 25% of salary after eight years service; 33.3% after 10 years service; 50 percent after 15 years service; and 66.6% after 20 years service. Since the salaries of these gentlemen range between $7,200 and $15,600 per year their pensions will range after eight years service between $150.00 to $325.00 per month; from $200.00 per month to about $450.00 per month at 10 years service; from $300.00 per month to $650.00 per month after 15 years; and from $400.00 to about $900.00 per month after 20 years service. Pensions are based on those obtaining at the time of retirement and pensions will be paid according to the highest appointment held by the parlimentarian during the period of his service. This means simply that very few indeed will be the pensions paid in the lower scales.

In addition to this members entitled to pensions are also to receive a gratuity equal to 1/10 of the total salary received during the period of service but the maximum should not exceed 3 years of his maximum salary. In addition, too, pensions are payable at a retirement age of 55. It will be remembered that contributors to the National Insurance Scheme and old age pensioners at present have to attain 65 years of age before qualifying. Widows are to receive ½ of the ex-member's pension and children 1/6 of the pension up to a maximum of two children. Where only children are surviving, two or more should receive half pension, one child should receive ¼ pension.

No wonder the prospect of debate on such proposals proved unpalatable at the time of the bus strike. The point is that such proposals should be unpalatable at any time. One wonders too whether this Government really has the moral right to legislate such a scheme into existence amidst all the public anxiety about bobol and corruption involving the very men who have now so generously provided for their declining years.

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IS SITUATED
at 100 Duke &
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GUERRA'S office.

MOKOJUM

ASSOCIATED STATEHOOD

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This time Fat Man planned a brook whose graduates would in a bright-light world of London and trying to exploit the boredom and issue of MOKO we showed how the for the Lottery encourage Trinidad and leave Trinidad, or buy a yacht the same psychology as Fat Man.

Fat Man has disappeared again. The police are NOW searching for the same thing to happen twice is Yet the entire incident is highly laugh at lies every day, and use victims of lies and our own trickster, while we deplore the expose fraud in high places should be something of a big our full approval. Fat Man is not

Our politics is full of Fat Men because we admire fraudulence

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MOKO JUMBIE

ASSOCIATED STATEHOOD

Recent events in at least three of the Windward and Leeward Islands have led to some degree of public review and criticism of the present constitutional position in these territories. In Anguilla, a "rebel" regime has opted for disassociation from St. Kitts; in Grenada the Premier, Mr. Gairy has more than once described the Associated Statehood system as a farce, and in St. Vincent serious differences have arisen between government and opposition about the nature of the new constitution that would finally bring that territory into Associate Status with Britain.

What is this Associate Status? In essence it is the same as the phase of "internal self-government" through which Jamaica and Trinidad passed before attaining formal independence in '62. In effect it involves local politicians assuming responsibility for internal affairs (which in practise is being extended to include West Indian affairs) while Britain continues to look after defence and external affairs. The only significant difference between Associate Status and internal self-government, is that the Associate States have a provision in their constitutions which permits them to declare independence unilaterally -- provided, that is, that independence is approved in a popular referendum.

The built-in provision for UDI makes Associate Statehood a unique constitutional arrangement in the colonial world. The constitutions themselves reflect the wishes, but also the anxieties of both the West Indian governments involved, and Britain. The Governments wanted maximum internal autonomy, particularly over finance, and have, it would seem, achieved it. Britain could have had no difficulty in conceding this. Her apparent retreat from empire, her own economic difficulties, her overtures to Europe, her acceptance of America as the Caribbean overlord, have combined to make her anxious to surrender more and more power to local colonial administrations. One wonders, indeed, whether the UDI provision isn't more a bait, a prod to local leaders on the part of the British, than a reflection of their own desire for independence in the near future.

After two years of its operation, there has not really been much comment on the Associate Status system. But here and there a view seems to be emerging that Associate Status has not proved to be a satisfactory constitutional device for the smaller territories, and needs to be replaced -- though by what new system has not been at all clear, For example, it was reported on May 10 last that the Commonwealth Secretary General Mr. Arnold Smith was visiting the Caribbean, among other things to undertake with Caribbean leaders "a deeper study of the whole device of Associated Statehood,, and whether it meets the needs of small Caribbean and Commonwealth states."

Why has it been found necessary to carry out this review of Associated Statehood? A look at the main facts does not yield a satisfactory answer. Certainly it is not because of any general collective demand by the island leaders -- who have been meeting fairly regularly, but with the exception of Mr. Gairy, have not issued any public criticism of their constitutional positions. But as usual, Gairy's remarks have been fruitful in rhetoric, but barren in analysis. We are yet to hear from him what precisely make Associated Statehood a farce, or what is his true concept of independence. He likes style and spectaculars. Witness Expo. It is likely that for him, an independent Grenada will be more than a larger platform on which he can strut more pompously before the Caribbean and the world at large.

Nor does the Anguillian crisis provide a clear clue, Though the Anguillian Rebellion gave rise to the unease about Associated Status, it had fundamentally nothing to do with this constitutional arrangement. Anguillians are quite willing to enter into association with Britain. What they rebelled against was the master-servant relationship with St Kitts in which they had no internal autonomy. And internal autonomy is the essence of Associated Statehood.

A review of the concept and constitution of Associated Statehood, is thus a necessity at this time, and it will be a task to which we will address ourselves in the near future.

FAT MAN STRIKES AGAIN

So the Fat Man has struck again. Some years ago it was the Sam Cooke show which never came off, though $3,000 worth of tickets had already been sold. Fat Man disappeared with the takings. Trinidad laughed, said he deserved some more money for the "brains," and made a calypso out of the entire incident. We may not be the only society which consistently allows itself to be conned; but few societies celebrate their own gullibility with as much gusto as we do.

The result of this was that Fat Man returned some years later to receive the welcome we are always prepared to give to the successful fraud. He must have studied the society and discovered the case of Stafford the escaped English convict, whom Trinidad received with open arms and nearly made director of an important firm, because he sipped tea so beautifully. The good con-man must also be a good psychologist and must be acquainted with the methods of the politicians of the elected area. Fat Man appealed, just as our politicians do, to our glibness, to our worship of the surface of things.

This time Fat Man planned a different fraud. He opened a modelling school in Woodbrook whose graduates would in a few months be introduced to the fashion-book and bright-light world of London and Paris. It was a good racket to choose. Everybody is trying to exploit the boredom and desperation in our society these days. In an earlier issue of MOKO we showed how the National Lottery thrives on just this. Advertisements for the Lottery encourage Trinidadians to buy tickets so that they can get rich quickly and leave Trinidad, or buy a yacht, or a bigger. The State, then, has been using precisely the same psychology as Fat Man.

Fat Man has disappeared again, having profited from our fears and superficiality. The police are NOW searching for him. It seems so absurd that we should have allowed the same thing to happen twice, especially since we pride ourselves on our "smartness". Yet the entire incident is highly symbolic of what normally happens in our society. We laugh at lies every day, and use humour as a means of avoiding action, until we become the victims of lies and our own inactivity. We admire the intelligence of the confidence trickster, while we deplore the "stupidity" of anyone with sufficient moral courage to expose fraud in high places. This is why our only notion of Independence is that it should be something of a big Wey-Wey style, in which the cleverest rackeeteers receive our full approval. Fat Man is not simply a boy who defrauds Trinidad every five years

Our politics is full of Fat Men, who even when proved frauds are welcomed back because we admire fraudulence.

RACE IN LATIN AMERICA

By Lloyd King

Latin American society has never been egalitarian nor have apologis... for Latin American civilization ever really claimed otherwise. They ha... preferred to insist that within a class hierarchy of a somewhat author... tarian nature benevolence governs relationships between social group... The notion that race is a specific factor in social relations is in general d... nied. The latin American view is not unlike the Jamaican view that cla... not race is the thing.

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THE 19th CENTURY

The truth is that in nineteenth century Latin America theories about race were rampant and Latin American intellectuals increasingly blamed the failures of social and political institutions on the racial composition of the population. In so doing they were harking back to value judgements of European thinkers which they had internalised and which they masochistically used against themselves and their compatriots. First, reports from America reaching Europe had kindled in the European imagination a myth to which it is periodically susceptible; the myth of the noble savage. Particularly in the prose of the French writer, Montaigne, the people of America emerge as men who live in a state of nature unspoilt by the innumerable vices of civilization and its burdens, simple and spontaneous in their responses to life. Montaigne obviously was anticipating in his descriptions the brochures with which the Jamaican Tourist Board bombards the North American public.

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A NEW START

Continued from Page 1

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Friday 4th July, 1969

JUMBIE

IOOD

...the Windward and Leeward Islands have led to ...cism of the present constitutional position in ...regime has opted for disassociation from St. ...has more than once described the Associated ...St Vincent serious differences have arisen ...about the nature of the new constitution ...Associate Status with Britain.

...ng it is the same as the phase of "internal ...and Trinidad passed before attaining formal ...s local politicians assuming responsibility for ...g extended to include West Indian affairs) ...nce and external affairs. The only significant ...nternal self-government, is that the Associate ...s which permits them to declare independence ...idence is approved in a popular referendum.

...Associate Statehood a unique constitutional ...constitutions themselves reflect the wishes, ...Indian governments involved, and Britain. ...autonomy, particularly over finance, and ...uld have had no difficulty in conceding this. ...an economic difficulties, her overtures to ...aribbean overlord, have combined to make ...wer to local colonial administrations. One ...isn't more a bait, a prod to local leaders ...f their own desire for independence in the

...as not really been much comment on the ...view seems to be emerging that Associate ...stitutional device for the smaller territories, ...new system has not been at all clear, For ...at the Commonwealth Secretary General ...n, among other things to undertake with ...whole device of Associated Statehood, ...Caribbean and Commonwealth states."

...y out this review of Associated Statehood? ...factory answer. Certainly it is not because ...land leaders -- who have been meeting ...Mr. Gairy, have not issued any public ...ut as usual, Gairy's remarks have been ...are yet to hear from him what precisely ...t is his true concept of independence. ...It is likely that for him, an independent ...on which he can strut more pompously

...r clue, Though the Anguillian Rebellion ...us, it had fundamentally nothing to do ...s are quite willing to enter into associa... ...was the master-servant relationship with ...And internal autonomy is the essence

...Associated Statehood, is thus a necessity ...will address ourselves in the near future.

...N

...s ago it was the Sam Cooke show which ...had already been sold. Fat Man dis... ...he deserved some more money for the ...cident. We may not be the only society ...but few societies celebrate their own

...some years later to receive the welcome ...raud. He must have studied the society ...nglish convict, whom Trinidad received ...portant firm, because he sipped tea so ...d psychologist and must be acquainted ...d area. Fat Man appealed, just as our ...the surface of things.

...e opened a modelling school in Wood... ...e introduced to the fashion-book and ...good racket to choose. Everybody is ...our society these days. In an earlier ...ry thrives on just this. Advertisements ...kets so that they can get rich quickly ...e State, then, has been using precisely

...ed from our fears and superficiality. ...absurd that we should have allowed ...e pride ourselves on our "smartness". ...normally happens in our society. We ...f avoiding action, until we become the ...re the intelligence of the confidence ...one with sufficient moral courage to ...y notion of Independence is that it ...hich the cleverest rackeeteers receive ...defrauds Trinidad every five years

...n proved frauds are welcomed back

RACE IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin American society has never been egalitarian nor have apologists for Latin American civilization ever really claimed otherwise. They have preferred to insist that within a class hierarchy of a somewhat authoritarian nature benevolence governs relationships between social groups. The notion that race is a specific factor in social relations is in general denied. The latin American view is not unlike the Jamaican view that class not race is the thing.

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In the nineteenth century the pseudo-scientific fact of the congenital inferiority not only of the Indian but of the mixed breed (mestizo) was part of the intellectual baggage of the Latin American intellectual. A writer like Carlos Octavio Bunge in a long essay, NUESTRA AMERICA blamed his country's political convulsions on "mestizaje", the mixing of the races which he claimed, using the false biologism in vogue, had degraded the white race in America. This notion of the inferiority of the Indian was, interestingly enough, extended to include the Spanish desended element of Latin American society and explains the policy of encouraging immigration from European countries other than Spain. A notable exponent of this view was Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, one-time President of Argentina who persecuted the anarchic native cowboy of the pampas, the gaucho (men of mixed Spanish, Indian and negro origins), and initiated a policy leading to the almost total destruction of the Argentine Indians, as part of his plan for progress. He was an ardent admirer of the United States. The above also gives the background as to why in this century the Venezuelan government was hostile to immigrants from Trinidad but encouraged Italian immigration.

A NEW START

Continued from Page 1

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CALL THAT GEORGE

by MOKO

Good evening:

Tonight I am going to explain why I accepted a British Queen's Birthday honour, and not one of our local awards, such as the Trinity Cross. This latest absurdity of mine was not by any means a sudden decision. You will recall how a few weeks ago I symbolically washed my hands of all real rebellion or organic relationship with my people, when I celebrated the Chaguaramas March, of blessed memory, with an exclusive cocktail party at the Chaguaramus Retreat. Though a few years ago I advocated demonstrations and dissent, I now condemn them and threaten those subverts who refuse to toe my line. the party line. From time to time, you have given me cause to express my contempt for you. Indeed, I am now convinced that the gap between the academic and the crowd, ought to be preserved. I have personally condemned British methods education and culture, but if I had a child, I certainly won't have him educated in Trinidad. I'd look for an exclusive English "finishing" school.

Every time I showed my open contempt for my people, I endeared myself to the royal family, and scored a few more points; until now I, for so many years a prodigal son, have at last returned to the fold. In this way I have fulfilled that historical law which says that the highest sounding honours must be given to those who have sold out most completely. Greatness has been thrust upon me.

Moreover, such behaviour is quite common in the West Indies today. Brother Barrow of Barbados and Brother Shearer of Jamaica while they speak of nationalism have both accepted the useless honour of a P.C. I have now transcended all that with my C.H. Brother Burnham of Mudland, though he seems to condemn imperialist symbols, began to ride through the city on a horse just like a plantation owner, soon after he became premier for the first time. You will also have heard of Papa Bradshaw's Rolls Royce, his golden tooth-pick, ceremonial buckle shoes, colonel's uniform and so on. If you have been reading MOKO as I have, you will have learned that Bradshaw's P.R.O. goes around talking Black Power while he also approves imperialist intervention in Anguilla, and according to Naipaul, changes his tyres by having strong black natives lift his car. . . . just like a slave owner.

So, as you can see, there is the same inconsistency everywhere Foppery is in fashion; we just choose the level at which we will be foppish. Having dwelt so long on the mere margin of European culture values, fashion and even chitchat, what is left for us who have given up rebellion against these things, but to accept with grateful heart and traditional nigger's grin, all that is shoddy and superficial? Soon I too will be telling those jokes about what Lord Tunapuna said to Lady Barrackpore on the event of the latter's tenth Harley Street abortion.

Goodbye, my poor people. Can't you see I've grown tired of you, who have never been quite worthy of me? The vision of political reality and the strain of working in colonial Trinidad, have been too brutal, and having eliminated all aid, I have had to bear the grind alone. Let no man write my epitaph. I know that history will forgive one of her most faithful servants for having called that George . . . . Look! Already Pres. Nixon and Gov. Rocky have promised me a Purple Heart!
Good Night and Farewell
Mokojumbie . . . .

BLACK BOY

Recently a friend of mine was most arbitarily detained by the police for alleged house-breaking. The police maintained that he broke into a house on a particular day at a particular time. It was conclusively proved that at the time of the alleged offence the person in question was painting at a particular house in another district. When two of the occupants of the house told that to the police, they were literally ejected from the St. Joseph Police Station with the implication that they were lying and were explicitly told by the policeman who had made the arrest that "only white people don't lie."

It was only when the father of those two gentlemen, who happens to be a person of considerable authority, spoke ot the police that the boy was released.

That a policeman could have said that "only white people don't lie" is less a commentary on the policeman's psyche individually than a commentary on our entire society in which to be white is to be priveleged and to be "respectable". Immediately one is reminded of the DENNIS STAFFORD incident of some years ago. Stafford was an escaped convict from a British prison who came to Trinidad and was both accepted and absorbed into the high society circles. When Stafford was arrested and exposed, the white bourgeoisie was thunderstruck.

An innocent little black boy is victimised because he was apparently helpless. A confirmed white criminal is welcome and accepted by the society. The rationale of this irrationality seems quite clearly to be that whiteness is the criterion of respectability, truth and honesty. Those involved, whether they like it or not, in practice equate blackness with dishonesty and crime. Even the neo-fascist British historian, Thomas Carlyle, could not have done better.

Some people apparently do not recognise that crime is not the exclusive preserve of any particular race.

Our bastard society persists in showing the traditional but irrational diffidence to a white minority in this community and persists in jockeying for the most strategic position from which they can lavish "courtesies" on white visitors. That is why a small minority in our community retains a privileged position. That is why our tourist oriented society humilates itself before white foreigners. The very leaders in our society by their actions betray their lack of confidence in themselves and in their

Continued on Page 4

MOKO

A Serious Review

Price 10c

BOOK REVIEW

TRINIDAD IN TRANSITION. THE YEARS AFTER SLAVERY

Donald Wood's book, Trinidad in Transition, written under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations, London, is about what happens in Trinidad after the abolition of slavery in 1838. The thirty years that the author examines are crucial because they brought unprecedented change and stress that have affected and still influence Trinidad's society today.

Kenneth K. Kalloo

Wood claims that these years 1838-1870 are the formative years of Trinidad's society because they had a 'decisive influence' on the subsequent course of Trinidad history. These were the years when many new problems presented themselves, and the solutions offered, very often posed greater difficulties in the long run. This was particularly true in so far as the supply of an adequate labour force was concerned.

THE 1830's

The book under review falls naturally into four sections. Part I is entitled 'The Beginnings' and here the author discusses the society as it was during the eighteen thirties. It is an examination and appraisal of the people and the land at the end of slavery or just prior to Emancipation, and after the Apprenticeship System.

Part II is entitled 'The Immigration' and is by far the most extensive of the four major sections and runs to 101 pages. This betrays to some extent the author's preoccupation with this aspect of Trinidad in transition, and explains in some ways, the interpretation of the facts that he has given.

IMMIGRANTS

In this section Wood discusses in great detail the influx of new immigrants into the island - the arrival of Americans and Africans, the Europeans, the Indians and the Chinese. All of this is set in the historical perspective of an age of migration.

One other main point noted is that in the West Indies generally an adequate labour force was a recurring and vexing problem. Served for centuries by Negro slave labour, the plantations are confronted with a problem following the emancipation of the slaves. The introduction of several sets of immigrants is an attempt to find a solution.

LABOUR PROBLEM

Eric Williams in his book, History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago, titles his relevant chapter 'Trinidad's Labour Problem after Emancipation', and a problem it really proved to be.

The crux of the matter, as perceived by Williams, was whether or not a ready supply of labour was available. Around this were a cluster of other questions that would eventually, when solved, give a clue to the sort of society that would eventually envolve. One of the most important of such questions was whether or not the former slaves would be prepared to continue to labour for wages on the plantations on the planters' terms. The answer was to be a negative one. Involved here was the very survival of sugar. Would it continue to be the principal product of the island, and would it continue on the basis of the plantation system.

These are questions to which Wood does not really address himself. But they are very important questions if one really wants to understand the transitional nature of Trinidad society in that particular generation.

SUGAR

The immigration policy, in general, settled the question that sugar would continue to be the dominant industry, and the immigration of East Indians in particular opened up the way for expansion of cane farming and all that that implied. For the plantation system did not remain unaltered. By the turn of the century a substantial part of the sugar crop was being produced by the Indian cane farmer.

SOCIAL TENSION

Section III deals with the various tensions to be found in a cosmopolitan society. First and foremost was the Anglo-French rivalry, and if this was in the spotlight, just off in the shadows were the issues of religious rivalry between the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, and the apparent Anglicizing policy of the Government. The role of the coloureds in society and the controversy over Education only served to make other problems seem more acute. Not least among these was the development of a creole culture and the resultant conflicts with those of the white groups.

BASIC ISSUES

These are some of the basic issues in society that were never satisfactorily solved, and their ghosts still haunt Trinidad's society even today.

The Fourth and final section is titled 'The New Era'. The coming of Sir Arthur Gordon, states Wood, marks a watershed in Trinidad's history, for he implemented far reaching policies, and iniated new moves to stir up life in what has elsewhere been referred to as "an island of experiment".

ARTHUR GORDON

Under Gordon's governorship, there was a reversal of the old anglicizing policy of the government, and the policy of opening up crown lands to the East Indian immigrant was initiated. Activity began and was stepped up in other fields. Gordon initiated legislation for better roads and communications; sponsored the Keenan investigation of the Trinidad school system in 1869, resulting in many far reaching recommendations.

NEW ERA

The new era saw the demise of Warner, a growing labour movement among the creoles, and the beginning of the rise of the East Indian professionals.

Wood's book is admirable because it has accomplished what it set out to do - to examine the critical years 1838-1870. His thesis, appears to me, to be that certain problems that presented themselves at this time, were not satisfactorily solved. Substitutes were found, and these in their turn presented their own peculiar problems later on. One such, the most obvious example, originated in the demand for labour. In place of the Negro slave Asiatics were imported, and these have constituted a problem in their own right, a problem which still has tremendous repercussions in society today. Another example is in the field of education - particularly Keenan's institution of the dual control of schools.

I am not sure, however, that Wood comes to grips with these problems. He mentions them, but the ends are left untied at the close of his book.

LAW

Continued from Page 1

This legitimacy may be derived from God, or it may to be said to stem from the consent of the people. Men are told that by living in a community and benefitting from the order and peace which civil society brings, that by participating in the affairs of society they have implicitly agreed to obey the government. It is as if we have all signed a contract, and having signed we are morally obliged to obey. So from time to time, and particularly in periods of crisis, theories are invented in order to reinforce the habitual obedience which most men are normallly inclined to give the most laws.

We may say therefore in answer to the first question that most men obey laws because of habit, reinforced by fear and by a feeling of obligation which many of them have. But what answer we give to the second set of questions? Ought men to obey all the laws? If not, which laws do they have a right to a duty ot disobey? An extreme view would be that we ought to obey all laws, whatever they are. This could be argued on a number of grounds: that the laws stem directly or indirectly from a divine being, who is, by definition, always to be obeyed.

BLACK BOY

Independence we are sinking deeper into the Hell of neo-colonialism.

Continued from Page 3

own people and in so doing perpetuate the white-phobia which is part of the colonial legacy of psychological perversion and self-contempt.

Our leaders continue, and it seems that they do it gleefully, to run hat in hand and on exaggeratedly bended knees before foreign capitalists and foreign Governments and institutions, begging for crumbs. They continue to tolerate foreign domination of almost all aspects of our national life. Maybe the fault lies less in the whites than in ourselves. Seven years of Independence, yet next to nothing has been done erasing the colonial mentality in and the foreign domination of our society. This is not to say that in seven years the whole task can be done. But the stark reality is that after seven years of so called

This is not an espousal of Black Power or of any such related concept. The power we must aim at is Trinidad and Tobago power, West Indian Power. The white people in this country are citizens and are entitled to the same rights as all other citizens. Like everyone else they have a role to play in national development. But they must be shorn of ascriptive, irrational privileges. All of us together must work to create the type od society which is best for us. If there is to be privelege in the new society, that privelege must be earned on the basis of work done, not on the basis of skin colour.

Some day the blackboy will have justice. How soon that day will come depends on all of us. How much is each one of us willing to do towards making our society a more rational place.

AUGUSTUS RAMREKERSINGH'

BLOW! ABENG. BLOW!

Last week, the office of ABENG, our sister paper in Jamaica was burnt down. Two issues ago in our editorial entitled The Ministry of Fear, we stressed the extreme pressure under which ABENG is being successfully produced. After only five months, they have a distribution of 20,000 partly because they try to speak for the poor and oppressed; those who are casually beaten and shot, those who have no voice.

In the process, ABENG has undertaken a tremendous task --- to bridge the gap in consciousness between the academics and the illiterate masses, a task which all existing media ignored. It is because of this radicalism that ABENG supporters are fired from their jobs, or are held up at gun-point by the police. MOKO expresses its solidarity with ABENG, and its hope that the fire which destroyed their office, will merely be the kiln in which the new courage to endure is tempered. Blow the horn and tell the people!

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